

border state of Nuevo Leon was forced to resign following accusations of mismanagement and drug-related corruption.

In some respects, northern Mexico should have had the best chance of any region of the nation to shake off decades of political corruption and offer tough resistance to the rise of the drug kingpins.

It was the first region of the country where members of the conservative opposition National Action Party (PAN) broke the stranglehold of the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), winning governorships, mayoralties and municipal seats with promises of fighting entrenched corruption.

Instead, the drug cartels are more powerful than ever.

One of the first PAN governors in the north, Ernesto Ruffo Appel, former governor of Baja California, said he found drug-based corruption too institutionalized to clean up from the governor's office.

"The system doesn't work," said Ruffo, who works at the national party level. "Everybody's on the take. There's just too much money."

According to many law enforcement officials and political specialists, the institutionalization of corruption is a key milestone in northern Mexico's journey toward becoming a drug fiefdom.

"In the past, you had specific protection rackets that were between particular people," said a U.S. law enforcement official who monitors drug trafficking on the border. "Now you increasingly have protection [for the cartels] regardless of who sits in a particular law enforcement job."

At the low end, police, because of their poor pay, traditionally have been thoroughly corrupted by drug cartels. Police frequently act as bodyguards and assassins for the kingpins, and raging gun battles among local, state and federal police units—some in the pay of the cartels, the others trying to arrest them—are commonplace.

Late one night a few weeks ago, a Wild West-style shootout exploded on the streets of Juarez—police were fighting it out with police.

Carloads of federal police surrounded city police headquarters and within minutes shooting broke out, leaving one federal officer dead on the bloodied pavement and several city police wounded in what many officials described as an outgrowth of simmering tensions between rival drug protection rackets.

"I know I have policemen who are paid by the drug dealers," said Mayor Galindo. "I pay 2,200 pesos [\$297] a month. A drug dealer can give \$1,000 a week for protection. I can't compete. When I listen to the politicians in Mexico City talk about the drug struggle, they don't know what they're talking about. Where can I hire police I can trust?"

A few months before the shootout, Juarez city police—frustrated that their federal counterparts, charged with enforcing drug laws, were taking no action to stop the proliferation of drug shooting galleries in the city—leaked the addresses of 90 known drug houses to a local newspaper. The paper published the list and confronted the federal police, who said they had never been given the list. "We published the list as proof that they'd received it," said an editor. "And they did nothing."

Ruffo and others say even the judicial system has become co-opted, by money or fear. "Judges are afraid they might be killed. It's very risky to confront this," Ruffo said. On that, he shares the pessimism of many in northern Mexico: "If we can't even trust the judicial system, we have nothing."

THE MEXICAN FEDERATION

Four organizations dominate the international drug trade in northern Mexico. To-

gether with about a dozen smaller groups, they have been dubbed The Mexican Federation by the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration and gross an estimated \$10 billion to \$30 billion annually in narcotics sales in the United States. Family ties are important to the groups, most of which can trace their lineage back decades to the cross-border smuggling of contraband such as stolen cars.

THE TIJUANA CARTEL

Currently the second most powerful cartel. Considered the most violent of the Mexican organizations. Best known for the ambush of Catholic Cardinal Juan Jesus Posadas Ocampo at Guadalajara Airport in May 1993.

Leaders: Arellano-Felix brothers—Benjamin, Ramon, Javier and Francisco (currently jailed in Mexico)—who are the nephews of Guadalajara Cartel co-founder Miguel Angel Felix Gallardo.

Activities: Controls most of drug smuggling across the California border; has recently diversified to become one of the main suppliers of methamphetamine, consolidating its position through a violent turf war in San Diego.

THE SONORA CARTEL

Also known as the Caro Quintero organization; made up of remnants of the old Guadalajara Cartel, best known for the brutal 1985 torture and killing of DEA agent Enrique Camarena.

Leaders/co-founders: Rafael Caro Quintero, under arrest. Miguel Angel Felix Gallardo, arrested in 1989, remains a major player from prison.

Acting leader: Miguel Caro Quintero, brother of Rafael.

Activities: Among the first Mexican organizations to transport drugs for the Colombian kingpins. Main trafficking routes through Arizona border area known as "co-caine alley" with movements also coordinated through the Juarez Cartel in the territory controlled by that organization.

THE JUAREZ CARTEL

Currently the most powerful of the Mexican cartels.

Leader: Amado Carrillo Fuentes, about 40; took over in 1993. Shuns flamboyant lifestyle of his competitors, and is said to represent a new breed of kingpin who believes in compromising with rivals.

Activities: Carrillo Fuentes pioneered the use of Boeing 727s for bulk shipments of as much as 15 tons of cocaine between South America and northern Mexico. Cartel operates primarily through Juarez-El Paso and surrounding desert along the west Texas and New Mexico borders.

THE GULF CARTEL

Once undisputed champ of the Mexican organizations. Cartel's fortunes began to fade about a year ago after its alleged kingpin, Juan Garcia Abrego, 51, had to go underground. He was arrested in January and deported to the United States, where he is standing trial in Houston.

Leader: Oscar Malherve, one of Abrego's top lieutenants and money-launderers.

Activities: Moves drugs primarily through the Texas border region, particularly Matamoros-Brownsville, and along the Gulf coastal shores.●

CITY OF MUNISING'S 100TH ANNIVERSARY

● Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I rise today to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the incorporation of the city of Munising, MI. In the Chippewa language, Munising means Place of the Great Island.

Munising was first founded in 1850 when the Munising Co. bought 87,000 acres of land on the eastern shore of Munising Bay. The land changed hands for the next 20 years as businesses opened and closed in the area.

In 1870, the beginnings of a thriving town were seen. The village of 30 homes was centered around the blast furnace which had just begun producing iron. The village had a blacksmith shop, sawmill, dock, and a government light-house. The village continued to thrive until 1877, when a fire destroyed the whole community.

By 1895, the lumber baron Timothy Nester had acquired 184,000 acres in Munising Bay. He quickly began work on a railroad to connect Munising to South Shore. A town was planned and several buildings were built from the nearby lumber. In January 1896, a post office was opened to serve the town's 500 residents. In March 1896, the village was incorporated and Nester was named president. The new town expanded rapidly and after a year its residents numbered 3,500. The lumber industry would continue to drive the expansion of the village for many years to come.

Today, Munising is a small and vibrant community. Many people from Michigan and around the country come to Munising to experience the many activities its natural beauty has to offer. I know that my Senate colleagues join me in congratulating the city of Munising on its 100th anniversary.●

RISE IN DRUG USE

● Mr. ABRAHAM. Mr. President, earlier this week I and several of my colleagues—Mr. COVERDELL, Mr. KYL, Mr. NICKLES, Mr. GRAMM, Mr. DOMENICI, Mr. FRIST, and Mr. CRAIG—came to this floor to discuss the disturbing rise in drug use in this country since the beginning of the Clinton administration. Yesterday, the Wall Street Journal editorialized on the same subject. I ask that the editorial be printed in the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

WAITING TO EXHALE

Now, in April 1996, with eight months left on a four-year term, Bill Clinton flies the press into Miami so he can be seen standing shoulder to shoulder with General Barry McCaffrey, a decorated war hero he's enlisted to lead a war on drugs. Standing among schoolchildren Monday, the President poured his great rhetorical heart onto the drug war. Along the way came these key words: "Make no mistake about it, this has got to be a bipartisan, American, nonpolitical effort." Translation: Don't blame me for this problem, especially during an election campaign.

In fact, Bill Clinton's retreat in the drug war is among the worst sins for which his Administration should be held accountable. After years of decline in drug use, recent surveys make it clear that a younger generation of Americans is again at risk. The number of 12-to-17-year-olds using marijuana increased to 2.9 million in 1994 from 1.6 million in 1992. Marijuana use increased 200% among 14-to-15-year-olds during the same period. Since 1992, according to